

❧ THE FRENCH PORCELAIN SOCIETY ❧

FROM CHANTILLY TO SÈVRES:
FRENCH PORCELAIN
AND THE DUKES OF RICHMOND

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The photographs at Goodwood House were taken by Glynn Clarkson.

Introduction

Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny (1735-1806) was an important eighteenth century English patron of Sèvres porcelain (fig. 1), most of which still survives at the principal family house of Goodwood in West Sussex. In October 1765 the third Duke was appointed English Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the French court. He arrived in Paris in early November in the company of his brother Lord George Lennox, who was to act as his secretary, and their respective wives. Richmond stayed only briefly in France, returning to England in February 1766 after barely three months in Paris. But in this short period Richmond bespoke a service of porcelain from the royal French manufacture at Sèvres.

The porcelain service that Richmond ordered is significant not only because it was a large and early purchase of Sèvres by an English patron, but also because it appears to be the first time that Sèvres artists painted birds on porcelain based on the published work of the English naturalist George Edwards (1694-1773) (fig. 2). From the beginning of the factory's history, birds had featured as an important type of decoration at Vincennes and Sèvres, though they were usually of an exotic and fantastic nature well into the 1760s. Birds with a convincing air of scientific accuracy and authority seem first to appear on the porcelain dated for 1765-1766 painted in enamel colors in imitation of the work of George Edwards. The earliest Sèvres with this decoration is now at Goodwood.⁴

The ambassador's father, Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond and Lennox (1701-1750), was one of Edwards' principal patrons. Edwards dedicated the French edition of his first two volumes of bird illustrations, *Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux* published in 1745 and 1748, to the second Duke and Duchess.⁵ The survival of both English and French editions of Edwards' work in the library at Goodwood, and what appear to be unique impressions in some of those volumes which are also found on the Richmond Sèvres, allows one to consider the possibility that the third Duke specified the type of decoration for his porcelain and, indeed, may have supplied the ornithological volumes from his library for the Sèvres artists to copy.

This study examines not only the circumstances surrounding the purchase of the Sèvres porcelain by the third Duke and the correspondence of Edwards' designs, but also the personality of Richmond's father, his relationship to George Edwards, and the family taste for French porcelain prior to the 1765 commission of Sèvres.

The second Duke of Richmond and French Porcelain

Charles Lennox, created first Duke of Richmond and Lennox at the age of three, was born in 1672, the illegitimate son of Charles II and his French-born mistress Louise de K roualle. His mother, who had come to England in 1670 and attracted the attentions of the English King, was made Duchess of Portsmouth by Charles II and was also granted the French title of Duchess of Aubigny. Upon her death in 1734 the French title passed to her grandson. Throughout the eighteenth century, succeeding generations of Richmonds maintained close ties with France, often visiting their property at Aubigny, in the Berry, until Napoleon seized the estate in 1806.⁶

Charles, second Duke of Richmond, was born in 1701 and succeeded his father twenty-two years later. At the age of eighteen he embarked on the Grand Tour. At his first stop at the Hague, he married the thirteen-year-old Sarah, daughter of the Earl of Cadogan, as settlement of a gambling debt of his father's.⁷ Leaving his child bride, Richmond spent the next several years on his tour of Holland, France, Austria and Italy, returning to England in 1722 and to married life proper. Richmond served in a number of military and court positions, first in the army as Captain in the Royal Horse Guards, rising to the level of General by 1745. His intellectual and artistic interests were many, among them the farming and development of his estate at Goodwood, which had been acquired by his father in 1720, and the construction of his London house in Whitehall, along the Thames.

The second Duke developed strong ties with France through his adult life, travelling there several times before November 1734 when he inherited the property and title of Duke of Aubigny from his grandmother, and annually from 1735 when the Duke and Duchess went to France for three months to claim their title and property and to pay their respects to the King.⁸

It may be on one of these annual trips to France that the Duke and Duchess acquired examples of Chantilly porcelain. In 1735 Lord Hervey wrote that after spending time in Paris and Aubigny, the Duke of Richmond was to pass some time at Chantilly on his way back to England.⁹ In that same year Louis XV granted Cicaire Cirou, a porcelain entrepreneur at Chantilly, a twenty-year right "to make in the factory he has established at Chantilly fine porcelain in all colours, types, styles and sizes in imitation of the porcelain of Japan...."¹⁰

In the family records on deposit at the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, near Goodwood, there are several Richmond family inventories from 1739 which describe the contents of several houses, paying particular attention to silver and ceramics, and also to those goods entrusted to various household staff. Most of the ceramics listed, many of which were tea wares, were simply described as "China" or as "Old Japan." A number of Kakiemon-style Japanese porcelains of the type described in the inventories can still be found at Goodwood.

A group of Chantilly porcelain is included in a "*Liste de porcelaine recue de sa Grandeur la Duchesse de Richmond le 25 Juin 1739 a Londres par Fr. Lefevre*," apparently a household servant. Part of the list describes Chantilly porcelain in three rooms in the London, and I assume Whitehall, residence of the Duke of Richmond:¹¹

*Dans le Salun
 Deux Teaboards de pigeonwood avec deux
 Grandes tasses et Soucoup de Chantilly, deux
 tasses sans soucoup, six Tasses et 6 soucoups,
 Un pot a Sucrie et son Couvert, un pot à Creme
 et sa Soucoup, le tout de Chantilly, un
 grand pot a thé brun, un pot a thé de
 Jantilly.
 Dans la Drawing Room
 Un teaboard avec cinque tasses et six
 soucoups de jantilly. le sucrier et son couvere.
 dans le bedchamber un teaboard de
 [] avec 6 tasse & 6 soucoupe &
 un pot a thé de chantille*

While these tea wares have not survived at Goodwood, a pair of unmarked Chantilly cylindrical wine coolers with two green and yellow lizard handles are today found at the house. Enamelled with Kakiemon-style "banded hedge and squirrel" decoration, they date from around 1730-1750, but there are no records to indicate when they came to Goodwood.¹²

A final mention of Chantilly is found in an auction catalogue in which part of the second Duke's collection was sold shortly after his death in August 1750.¹³ The auction was carried out in London at the house of his son-in-law, the Earl of Kildare, between May 14-23, 1751. The sale included silver, glass, furniture, books and prints, and many pieces of pottery and porcelain, variously referred to as "blue and white," "delph," "old japan," and "Dresden." None of the lots was catalogued as Vincennes or St. Cloud, but there was some Chantilly possibly including pieces from the 1739 inventory. Lot 167, sold on Wednesday, May 22 listed "Six cups, 6 saucers (2 sorts) a tea pot, milk pot, sugar dish and cover, and a slop bason, Chantilly."¹⁴

Richmond's French connections made him appear a suitable candidate for British envoy to the French court. From late summer 1748, discussions were underway to send the second Duke to France at the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession. His appointment remained uncertain for over six months. George II was reluctant to appoint Richmond unless the French envoy to the English court also held the rank of Duke.¹⁵ In addition, Richmond protested that the ambassadorial allowance was inadequate to his needs and begged to be relieved of the position.¹⁶ By February 1749 the affair was resolved and William Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, was appointed ambassador to France in place of Richmond.¹⁷ The Duke was far from disappointed and wrote to his lifelong friend and political confidante the Duke of Newcastle "as to myself I am extremely happy in being quitted of an employment I never liked...."¹⁸

Relieved of ambassadorial pressures, Richmond and his wife visited Paris and their estate at Aubigny. They left for the Continent at the end of August 1749 and returned to England in late October or early November of the same year.¹⁹ It may be around this time that Richmond received a letter written by three French porcelain workers wishing to establish a porcelain factory in England under his protection (Appendix 1).²⁰

To summarize the letter, the anonymous writers claim to possess the secret of making porcelain superior to that made in France and equal to that of Saxe (Meissen). They know how to make tablewares including plates, coolers of all sizes, ewers, as well as figures, animals and flowers after nature, using all colors as well as gilding as fine as that found at Saxe. The writers claim to have experience building kilns. They seek someone to make a cash advance so as to establish the manufactory in England.

Costs for this new business proposal in England are outlined. The writers list initial expenditures for the kilns, mill, potters' wheels and other furniture as well as a supply of porcelain paste and glaze. In addition, they outline projected monthly expenditures for a staff of twenty-five people, including three turners and four painters, and for other raw materials.

The letter lists the types of porcelain that the new factory would produce and the costs to the manufacturer, emphasizing tea wares. The example is offered of a cabaret composed of sixteen pieces including six cups and saucers, a sugar box, teapot, milk jug and bowl ready for painting which would cost eighteen *livres*, eighteen *sols*. Costs are also given for decorating this same cabaret in a number of different ways including painting like that of old Japan, painting with natural flowers, painting with a cartouche of landscape as at Saxe, and painting with continuous landscapes. Each decoration could be further embellished with fillets of gold for an additional sum.

In addition to the tea wares, the costs of different types of decoration on other forms such as bottle coolers of different sizes and plates are listed. A tantalizing mention is made of a figure of a child "*comme le model*" to cost 7 *livres*. The largest profit is expected to come from the sale of flowers.

The letter also entices the reader with projected profits. For example, the cabaret painted with flowers, which the writers calculate would cost forty *livres* and eighteen *sols* to produce, is sold by the manufacture of Vincennes for 114 *livres*. Further, the letter enjoins the reader to be discreet so that the authors should not be found out. At that time, wayward Vincennes workers were subject to arrest for revealing the manufacture of porcelain to other parties.

While the letter is undated, certain conclusions may be drawn. Although the authors do not specify how or where they became familiar with porcelain production, they reveal a familiarity with the products of the French porcelain factory of Vincennes. The type of decoration that they cite, Japanese-inspired, flower painting and Saxe or Meissen derived landscapes, are of the type found at Vincennes in the late 1740s. A further comparison with the development of Vincennes technology might indicate that the letter should date after October 20, 1748, when Vincennes acquired the secret to the successful use of gold on porcelain from the Benedictine monk Frère Hippolyte. While the authors of this letter purport to have a sophisticated range of colors equal to those available at Meissen, a knowledge of ground colors is not indicated. Extending the comparison with Vincennes where *bleu lapis* was first used by 1751, one might suppose a cut-off date of 1751 for the letter.

The names of the three workmen who issued this letter must remain open to speculation until such time as direct evidence may emerge. The familiarity with Vincennes' products and decorations may indicate disgruntled Vincennes employees. In reviewing the names of Vincennes workers of the 1740s, several had reason for disenchantment with the factory's administration and also possessed intimate knowledge of the manufacturing process. Reginald Haggard has suggested that one of the three workmen may have been Jean Mathias Caillat, a painter and colormaker at Vincennes.²¹ Caillat was arrested in late 1750 for attempting to sell secrets of Vincennes' color production to the turner Bellejambe who worked at the *Manufacture de terre d'Angleterre* and was to take these secrets to Tournai.²² At the same time Caillat attempted, unsuccessfully, to escape to England with his knowledge of porcelain manufacture. If he was indeed one of the writers of the letter, and if he had been successful in travelling to England, Caillat may still have been thwarted in establishing a factory under the protection of the Duke of Richmond, for the second Duke died in August 1750.

The second Duke of Richmond and George Edwards

Much of the second Duke's life was involved in improving his estates by conventional as well as more eccentric means. By 1725 Richmond had begun to assemble a menagerie at Goodwood which eventually included a broad range of wild and exotic animals and birds.²³ An undated list in the family archives shows the menagerie consisted of:

5 woulves, 2 tygerrs, 1 lyon, 2 lepers, 1 sived cat, a tyger cat, 3 foxes, a jack all, 2 Greenland Dogs, 3 vulturs, 2 eagles, 1 kite, 2 owls, 3 bears, 1 large monkey, a Woman tygerr, 3 Racoons, 3 small monkeys, armadilla, 1 pecaverre and 7 caseawarris.²⁴

Richmond had a number of friends and agents who regularly sent him animals and birds for his collection. Richmond's friend and correspondent, the Duke of Newcastle, provided animals for the menagerie, as indicated in a letter to Newcastle dated November 24, 1734 in which Richmond wrote: "I return you ten thousand thanks for the Buffalo, she arrived on Fryday in perfect health."²⁵

But being recognized as an avid collector of animals was not without problems. An undated letter in the British Library written by Richmond to the scientist Sir Hans Sloane shows some of the difficulties Richmond was having stocking animals. Richmond wrote to Sloane:

I received your letter & am obliged to you for it. I wish indeed it had been the sloath that had been sent me, for that is the most curious animal I know: but this is nothing butt a comon young black bear. which I do not know what to do with, for I have five of them already. So pray when you write to him, I beg you would tell him not to send me any Bears, Eagles, Leopards, or Tygers for I am overstock'd with them already.²⁶

These animals were kept in dens behind iron-barred gates in the Goodwood park, and were on view to curious members of the public. Their popularity was such that in 1730 Richmond's steward complained: "we are very much troubled with Rude Company to see ye animals. Sunday last we had 4 or 5 hundred good and bad."²⁷

The second Duke also had a keen interest in birds, collecting specimens which were preserved in spirits or stuffed and mounted in his cabinet or study at Goodwood, and made available for pleasure and study to many people, including the naturalist George Edwards. The second Duke of Richmond became one of Edwards' principal patrons. In the preface to the first volume of *Gleanings of Natural History* published in 1758, with texts in both English and French, Edwards paid tribute to his four principal supporters as "perhaps, the greatest promoters of learning, science, and arts of any in the present age...."

The first of these gentlemen was the late Most Noble Duke of Richmond: noble in his lineage and descent from the Royal house of these kingdoms, but still more noble and great from the innate magnificence, generosity, and goodness of his soul. Though, by his high offices, his time was taken up by the important affairs of the public, yet his doors were always open to men of learning, science, and ingenuity.²⁸

George Edwards was born in 1694 into a family of minor business clerks in West Ham in Essex. He went to grammar school and began an apprenticeship in accounting and business under the direction of a London tradesman, John Dod, in whose extensive library Edwards first became acquainted with natural history and scientific literature. Edwards wrote of his time with Mr. Dod:

My head was filled with a confused Mixture of Voyages, Travels, Astronomy, Experimental Philosophy, Natural History, Painting, Sculpture, and many other Things, which gave me an Inclination to visit Foreign Parts, in order to convince my Senses of some Things which Yet had been only conceived by the Mind. So in the Year 1716, regardless of Gain I laid aside all Thoughts of confining myself to Business.²⁹

Edwards spent parts of the next five years abroad, travelling in Holland, Scandinavia, and France. While having means enough to travel, it was not in any sense the type of Grand Tour that his patron, the Duke of Richmond, had benefited from. On one occasion, dressed in shabby clothes in order to put off robbers, Edwards was arrested in Orleans as a vagrant because of a law which allowed the authorities to "take up all strolling persons who could give no account of themselves in order to transport them to people the banks of the Mississippi."³⁰

Returning safely to England around 1721, Edwards began studying natural history, making drawings and watercolors of flora and fauna, but most especially of birds, as in this watercolor of a vulture (fig. 3). He worked tirelessly, reworking each bird several times. While supporting himself by giving drawing classes to young ladies and gentlemen, his skills as an illustrator came increasingly to the attention of influential men in London, amateur naturalists as well as professional scientists and physicians associated with the Royal Society and the Royal College of Physicians. Edwards received numerous commissions to draw their collections.

Through the influence of Sir Hans Sloane, who was one of his patrons and also president of both learned societies, Edwards was appointed beadle, or administrative officer, of the Royal College of Physicians in 1733. One of Edwards' duties was the care of the College's scientific library. With a small salary and free housing, Edwards was now able to devote his time to scientific studies and drawing.

By the late 1730s Edwards was considering publishing a book of about 100 illustrations based on his watercolors of birds. He learned how to etch copperplates and personally hand-colored a dozen copies of his prints after his watercolors and oversaw the coloring of the rest of the impressions. Edwards' first publication was entitled *A Natural History of Birds* and appeared in 1743, dedicated to the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians. It contained: "The Figures of Sixty Birds and Two Quadrupedes engrav'd on Fifty-two Copper Plates, after curious Original Drawings from Life, and exactly Colour'd."³¹

A second volume in the same series was dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane and was published in 1747 with fifty-three plates of which fifty described birds. A third volume of birds appeared in 1750, dedicated once again to the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, and a fourth in 1751 dedicated modestly "To God." An additional title page was added with the new name for the series: *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds*.

The success of Edwards' published birds made him more sought after as an illustrator, and in the years following the completion of his *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds*, Edwards compiled hundreds of new illustrations. By 1758 he was persuaded to issue a new printed volume under the title of *Gleanings of Natural History*. Two additional volumes were to appear in 1760 and 1764 before Edwards retired. Rather than printing separate editions in English and French, as was the case for *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds*, Edwards printed separate title pages in English and French, with descriptions in parallel columns in both these languages for each illustration, which were bound together for each volume of *Gleanings of Natural History*.

At the time of his retirement from the College of Physicians in 1764, Edwards had published 362 plates in seven volumes of which the majority, that is 317 plates, described birds. Edwards wrote that he had deposited "authentic coloured copies" of his complete works in four London societies: the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquarians and the British Museum. He also presented his work to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris.

In the midst of his publishing venture, Edwards found that his designs for birds were being used as inspiration for a range of decorative arts. In his preface to the first volume of *Gleanings of Natural History* Edwards wrote:

I have observed that several of our manufacturers that imitate China ware, several print-sellers, and printers of linen and cotton cloths, have filled the shops in London with images, pictures and prints, modelled, copied, or drawn and coloured after the figures in my History of Birds, most of which are sadly represented both as to shape and coloring.³²

The reliance of Chelsea on some of Edwards' plates has been noted since 1931 when Bellamy Gardner identified seventeen Chelsea birds after Edwards.³³ These may well have caused Edwards to despair because of the potters' adaptations in translating a two-dimensional image into a three-dimensional model and the rather free coloring of the birds. To someone who was so fastidious in the coloring of his bird images, this misappropriation was especially upsetting.³⁴

In the library at Goodwood there exists today the English printed edition of *A Natural History of Birds*, volumes one to three, published between 1743 and 1750. In addition, there is the three-volume series *Gleanings of Natural History* published between 1758 and 1764 to which the third Duke of Richmond subscribed.³⁵ Plate 17 entitled the Mino or Minor (fig. 4) from the first volume of *A Natural History* shows Edwards' characteristic treatment of subject. Drawing from life and also from preserved birds, Edwards strove to give his subjects lively expressions, often juxtaposing two birds together on one plate. He was meticulous in rendering the physical characteristics of each bird and sought to capture as true a coloring as possible.

The library also contains the first two volumes of the French translation of *A Natural History*, entitled *Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux*, published in 1745 and 1748 dedicated to Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond and his wife. Edwards praises the Duke for his generosity in allowing him to study his collection of animals and birds in Richmond's menagerie and cabinet of curiosity. In all of the French translations I have examined, new title pages, dedications and descriptions were printed with French texts; however the bird plates remained identical in the French and English editions. The same copper plates with titles in English were used to illustrate the French volumes as were used to illustrate the original English texts.

What is unusual about the two French volumes at Goodwood is that all the plates of birds are in reverse to those normally found in other English and French editions. In addition, most of these printed plates have very faint, if not invisible plate marks, and very faint etched lines under the watercolor. Plate 17: *Le Mino ou Minor* (the Mino or Minor) (fig. 5) from the first of these French volumes at Goodwood shows the birds in reverse to the printed plate from the English volume (see fig. 4). There is a fine and soft quality to the coloring in this impression which is characteristic of these reversed plates in general, making them resemble watercolors rather than prints. Edwards did make presentation copies of his watercolors bound with printed texts; perhaps this is an experiment in printing counterproofs in order to present an

uncommon or rare edition of his work to his most important patron, the second Duke of Richmond.

This playing around with birds oriented differently is also found on the Sèvres at Goodwood. While a large number of the Edwards birds identified on the Sèvres service are based on the etched plates most often seen, a sizable proportion of the birds painted on the service are reversed, as they appear in the two French volumes at Goodwood. If these two volumes are as unusual as they at present appear to be, one might argue that the third Duke of Richmond specifically requested that the birds for his service be copied from the Edwards volumes from his library which he put on loan to the factory.

Figure 6 shows another piece from the green ground dessert service at Goodwood, one of four *seaux à bouteille*, or bottle coolers. The vulture on the cooler corresponds to plate 2: *Le Roi de Vautours* (The King of the Vultures) (fig. 7) from the first of Goodwood's French volumes.

Another aspect of the painted decoration of the bottle cooler suggests with greater strength the use of a reversed print as the source. A portion of Stonehenge appears on the background of the cooler (fig. 6). The arrangement of the stones is distinctive. An obelisk-like stone stands in the center flanked on the right with three sets of free-standing arches receding to the right, each of them with a slight opening through the center. To the left of the obelisk, two sets of arches can be seen to recede to the left, their contours overlapping with each other and the central portion of each of the arches blocked from view by tall standing stones. This same arrangement of stones appears in the background of plate 74: *L'Outarde Femelle* (fig. 8) featuring the Hen Bustard from the second of Goodwood's French volumes. Both the bird and Stonehenge are in reverse to the image usually found in the English and French editions.

One can understand a painter reversing the stance of a bird or modifying it slightly to better occupy a given space, but there is less reason to reverse the image of Stonehenge since it is so much in the background. The porcelain painter must have been looking at a reversed set of plates, whether they were actually those from Goodwood or another set, such as that sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris. As early as 1747 Edwards expressed his wish "to lodge a perfect coloured copy in the library of the Academy Royal of Sciences at Paris."³⁶ Sèvres had numerous links with the Academy of Sciences. The chemist Jean Hellot was a member of the Academy from 1735 and served as its president in 1751 and later in 1764, shortly before Richmond made his ambassadorial trip to Paris. One can speculate too that Hellot might have been involved in bringing Edwards' illustrations to the attention of the Sèvres painters.

The third Duke of Richmond, Horace Walpole and Sèvres

Born in 1735, Charles Lennox succeeded to the Dukedom in 1750 at the age of fifteen upon the death of his father. The second Duke's dying wish was that his son's education be entrusted to the scientist Abraham Trembley. Trembley and Richmond passed two years in Geneva before embarking on a Grand Tour of the Continent from 1752 to January 1756.

During his travels, Richmond collected antiquities and plaster casts of Italian sculpture. In 1758, after his return to England, Richmond founded an artists academy in his house in Whitehall where he assembled casts of antique and modern sculpture so that "any painter, carver, sculptor or other artist and youth over twelve years of age, to whom the study of statuary might be useful" could study under the direction of the sculptor Joseph Wilton and painter Giovanni Cipriani.³⁷

In 1757 Richmond married Mary, daughter of the third Earl of Ailesbury. Horace Walpole wrote about the match: "it is the perfectest match in the world; youth, beauty, riches, alliances, and all the blood of all the kings from Robert Bruce to Charles the Second. They are the prettiest couple in England...."³⁸

The third Duke's career comprised a succession of political appointments, including a brief stint as Secretary of State from 1766-1767. His real interest lay in politics and his appointment as ambassador to France was a disappointment, for Richmond had hoped to serve in the government at home and was loathe to leave England. During his tenure as ambassador, unfavorable reports of his and his family's behavior in France circulated, and he was criticized for keeping to a tight circle of English lords and a sprinkling of French aristocrats.

Little remains of personal correspondence and accounts for the third Duke of Richmond in the family archives on deposit at the West Sussex Record Office. Richmond House, the family's London home, was destroyed by fire on December 21, 1791 and some of his personal papers may have perished in that fire.³⁹ During his lifetime he was generous to his family and outgoing with his friends, but in his final will he specified that his illegitimate daughter, Henrietta be given:

all such Letters, Copies of Letters Correspondence Manuscript Books and written papers of every kind belonging to me at my death whether relating to public or private Affairs...and whether found at my House at Goodwood or my House at Whitehall or elsewhere as bear date or have been written since the decease of my Father and do not concern the Titles to any of my Estates and property.⁴⁰

Whether these papers were subsequently lost or destroyed, they have not been found. The little one can learn about the third Duke of Richmond has to be gained from other sources.

One of the more profitable and accessible sources of information concerning Richmond are the letters and Paris journals of Horace Walpole (1717-1797), the collector *extraordinaire*, builder of the Gothic-rococo house Strawberry Hill and Richmond's lifelong friend. Another source is Walpole's friend and fellow visitor in Paris in late 1765, the Reverend William Cole (1714-1782) whose *Journal of my Journey to Paris in the year 1765* provides some insights into the movements of the Richmonds.⁴¹

Walpole made an extended visit to Paris in the autumn of 1765 which coincided with Richmond's appointment as ambassador. Walpole left London on September 9, 1765 arriving

in Paris on September 13 after sightseeing at the Château de Chantilly.⁴² The third Duke of Richmond arrived in Paris in the company of his wife, brother and sister-in-law on November 6, 1765 and settled into the Hôtel de Brancas on the rue de l'Université. Its owner was Louis-Léon-Félicité de Brancas (1733-1824), Comte de Lauraguais, a scientist who developed hard-paste porcelain by the middle of the 1760s.

In his *Journal* entry for November 6, Cole wrote that while he and Walpole "...were at Dinner, a servant came to inform Mr. Walpole, that his Grace the Duke of Richmond, our Ambassador, was just then arrived at his Hotel, viz: the Hotel de Brancas...as soon as Dinner was over, he went to pay his Complements to him...."⁴³

Walpole and the Richmonds were often in each others company in Paris where their chief preoccupations were shopping, theater and dining.⁴⁴ Walpole kept extensive notes about all his purchases while the Richmonds recorded nothing. Sèvres could be purchased from a number of different venues: from the Manufacture itself, from the Sèvres shop in the rue de la Monnaie and also from the Parisian *marchands-merciers*.⁴⁵ Walpole and the Richmonds visited all three outlets.

On November 9, Walpole went "To Poirier's with Duchess of Richmond before dinner."⁴⁶ Poirier was one of Paris's leading *marchands-merciers*, or dealers in luxury goods, whose shop was on the rue St. Honoré, and from whom Walpole was to buy many things. Whether the Duchess or Walpole bought anything on this occasion is unknown.

Walpole's *Paris Journals* entry for November 12 noted: "To manufacture of French china with Duke and Duchess of Richmond."⁴⁷ This entry was further clarified by Cole's *Journal* entry for November 13, the day after the Richmonds' and Walpole's trip to Sèvres, in which he wrote:

The Duke & Duchess of Richmond, who were attended one Morning, while I was at Paris, by Mr Walpole, bespoke a Service of this Manufacture for their Table which was to cost 500 Pounds: I mean Mr Walpole went with their Graces to Sève.⁴⁸

Having visited Sèvres without him, Cole was inspired to take his own coach trip the very next day to the Sèvres factory, which he described in the same entry for November 13 as follows:

At Sève is a great Manufactory of Porcelaine or European China, which we generally in England call St Cloud China, from its Vicinity to that Palace or Castle: the House in which it is manufactured...has the Appearance of a noble Convent or College, it being a Quadrangle of a very great Extent, built in an elegant Taste, with vast Furnaces & Offices for the hardening & baking the China, as also for the storing it up in Magazines for Sale.⁴⁹

Despite the confusion of Sèvres with St. Cloud porcelain, Cole's description is certainly that of a visit to the Sèvres manufactory. This confusion of Sèvres with St. Cloud appears to have been common among English tourists, as is clear from the description offered by another contemporary English traveller. In his autobiographical account entitled *Travels through France and Italy* written in 1763, Tobias Smollett describes a visit to a French porcelain factory:

In one of our excursions we visited the manufacture for porcelain, which the king of France has established at the village of St. Cloud, on the road to Versailles, and which is, indeed, a noble monument of his munificence. It is a very large building, both commodious and magnificent, where a great number of artists are employed, and where this elegant superfluity is carried to as great perfection as it ever was at Dresden.⁵⁰

The last entry in Walpole's *Paris Journals* where the Richmonds are specifically named is on February 14, 1766 when Walpole "supped at Duke of Richmonds." It must be shortly after this that Richmond and his wife returned to England.⁵¹ Thereafter Walpole spent a considerable part of his time in the company of Richmond's brother and his wife, Lord and Lady George Lennox, dining, shopping and visiting the theater.⁵² George Lennox took over as England's principal minister upon the departure of his brother, and became minister plenipotentiary July 1, 1766.⁵³ Walpole paid another visit "to manufacture at Seve with Lady George" and several other English visitors on March 25, 1766⁵⁴ but the Sales Records at Sèvres do not record any purchases for that day.

There is a curious reference in the sales records under the heading "*Six derniers mois 1766 M. Bachelier,*" which reads: "*Pour avoir décoré En Bleu Et or le vase de Mylord Georges...72(livres).*" Mylord Georges may refer to George Lennox, but it is confusing as to what he could have brought to Sèvres to have decorated with blue and gold. From time to time Vincennes and Sèvres sold white, undecorated porcelain to individuals as well as dealers. While the vase might be from another factory, there appears to be nothing at Goodwood today that might fit this description.

While the name Richmond does not appear in the factory records, David Peters has proposed that Jean-Jacques Bachelier, the director of decoration at Sèvres, served as intermediary to the Duke and supplied him with the green and blue ground services now at Goodwood.⁵⁵ According to Peters' analysis, the total costs of the green ground dessert service, green ground tea service and dark blue ground dessert service, consisting originally of 156 pieces (counting cups and saucers as one), was 9,552 *livres* or approximately £500, the amount Richmond wished to spend, according to Cole's report. Bachelier's purchases from the factory were tallied in the Sales Registers over the course of a sixteen month period in three groups, the first, in his shipment of goods for the first half of 1766, the second for the second half of that year, and the third for the first quarter of 1767.

While Richmond left France hurriedly in February 1766, he did return to Paris at least by the early autumn of the same year. On November 6, 1766 Lady Sarah Bunbury, Richmond's sister, wrote of the recent return to England of her two brothers and their wives from Paris, where she heard that "they behaved very ill, especially the Lennoxs, who shut themselves up, saw no French, kept late hours, & laugh'd at everybody."⁵⁶ Either Richmond or his brother Lord George was in Paris on and off over the course of Bachelier's deliveries of Richmond's porcelain.

There is no record that Richmond's Sèvres was a royal gift, as was traditionally believed by the family. Richmond was the recipient of a gold box from Louis XV, as was customary for those who served as ambassadors in France. The *Présents du Roi* records that on September 12, 1766 the Duke of Richmond, English Ambassador, was presented with "*une boîte à portrait, à guirlandes et rosettes*" valued at 15,236 *livres*, greater than the cost of the Sèvres he had ordered.⁵⁷

Sèvres at Goodwood: Identity of Painters

The Sèvres services at Goodwood purchased by the third Duke of Richmond consist of three sets: a dark blue ground dessert service, a green ground dessert service, blue- and green-ground baskets linking the two, and a green ground tea service. With the exception of a *gobelet* 'Hebert' painted with the date letter m, the remaining marked Sèvres pieces painted with birds are marked with an n or N for 1766. Of the more than 200 birds painted on the Goodwood porcelain, most are directly dependent on the printed illustrations by George Edwards (see Appendix 2 for a full listing).

By far the most accomplished bird painting is found on the larger and more expensive green ground pieces at Goodwood: the bottle coolers (figs. 1 and 6), teapot (fig. 9), sugar bowls, ewers and bowl. These pieces are each marked with the date letter N for 1766 within elaborate, interlaced Ls with heavily scrolled loops at the top and comma-like accents above and below the loops. The quality of the work of this painter is far above that found on the smaller-scale pieces, and it would be reasonable to expect a more assured and inventive hand at work on the major rather than smaller pieces. The difference in quality is not just a question of more complex or beautiful models being used, as most of the birds come from Edwards, but the hand at work here is bolder and displays greater virtuosity in the handling of both the birds and landscapes.

Eriksen and de Bellaigue⁵⁸ reproduce the painters' marks from an eighteenth century ledger in the Sèvres manuscript series Vj'2. While the names and marks appear to be made by one hand, rather than by the individual painters, one mark resembling simplified, interlaced Ls and given to the painter Armand, may relate to the marks found on the most accomplished Goodwood Sèvres. There were at least two painters with the name Armand at work at Sèvres, Armand *cadet*, painter of flowers and gilder, active from 1746 to 1788, and Armand *l'aîné* a painter of birds and landscapes between 1745 and 1788.

Further clarification concerning the bird painter Armand is found in the Y.8 personnel registers which contain the names of employees in the gilding and painting workshops. In the painting workshop there is the following description for LeS. Armand *l'aîné* made on January 1, 1755:

Natif de Paris, agé de 32....Avant d'entrer a la Manufacture, il faisoit le verni dans le gout chinois. Son Genre de Talent est la Peinture en oiseaux et Paysage, qu'il possede a un degreé Superieur qui laisse peu de progres a Esperer. Il est entre a la Manufacture en Novembre 1745 avec 60"(livres) par mois d'appointemens et il en a actuellement 100"(livres).⁵⁹

In February 1988 Sotheby's sold a painters' sample bowl signed by Armand *l'aîné* and perhaps something of the handwriting flourishes seen on the sample bowl relate to the elegant mark on the underside of the teapot.⁶⁰ Armand *l'aîné* was by far the highest paid bird painter at Sèvres. According to the F1 the records at Sèvres, kindly shown to me by Tamara Préaud, Louis-Denis Armand was also paid yearly bonuses from 1752 when he received 300 *livres* additional compensation, to 1760 when the records indicate that in addition to his annual salary of 1,200 *livres* he was paid a bonus of 1,200 *livres* to keep him at the factory.

While the true identity of the painter whose hand is so distinctive on the largest Goodwood pieces must remain open to further proof, the identities of two other bird painters who worked on the bulk of the Goodwood Sèvres is undisputed. Many of the Goodwood pieces are painted with a scrolling N under the interlaced Ls identifying the work of François-Joseph Aloncle.

Aloncle arrived at Sèvres in May 1758 and received a salary of 36 *livres* per month by 1759, increasing to 60 *livres* by 1766, the time the Richmond service was painted.⁶¹ Other pieces are marked with c p for Antoine-Joseph Chappuis who worked as a specialist painter of birds and landscapes from 1761 to 1787 and was earning 48 *livres* per month in 1766.⁶² It has been noted that these two painters were recorded in 1766 as having made copies of "*oiseaux differens d'après des tableaux, pour Servir de modèles à la manufacture*" at the rate of one *livre* per painting.⁶³ Chappuis received 51 *livres* and Aloncle 49 *livres*. It is tempting to speculate that they were copying from George Edwards whose work is first seen in 1765-1766 at Sèvres.

In the following year the overtime records for 1767 show that Chappuis was paid 168 *livres* for painting "*112 cartouches peints en oiseaux sur différentes pièces à 1.10.*"⁶⁴ These records may refer to painting Edwards' birds either for the Duke of Richmond's service or for other pieces which incorporate Edwards' birds into their designs. One of the largest services after that at Goodwood is the turquoise blue ground dessert service of 1766-1767 made for Marshal Razoumovski, now at Waddesdon Manor.

Conclusion

There are no contemporary descriptions of the way Sèvres porcelain was displayed at Goodwood in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Sèvres was at Goodwood by November 1768, as in that month Josiah Wedgwood paid a John Coward for drawings after the Duke of Richmond's Sèvres.⁶⁵

The whole character of Goodwood changed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century due to the third Duke's plans for expanding the house. Goodwood as it now appears is the result of designs by James Wyatt. His ambitious scheme for the expansion of the house was for an octagonal building surrounding a courtyard, with domed, three-storey towers at each juncture. Three sides of the building were built before the third Duke ran out of money.

The earliest published descriptions of Goodwood date from 1822, sixteen years after the third Duke of Richmond's death on December 29, 1806. These descriptions, by the Goodwood Librarian D. Jacques, record the layout and contents of Goodwood House, much of which had remained unchanged since the third Duke's death.⁶⁶ The rooms in which the Sèvres porcelain is today seen, now known as the Yellow Drawing Room, with the curved niche at one end, and the Circular Card Room were unfurnished in 1822.⁶⁷

Rather, the porcelain was found in three locations. First, in the neoclassical Grand Library with a coffered ceiling painted with classically inspired figures on the ground floor. Here, "the Chimney-piece and granite tables, are decorated with some costly pieces of Seve and other Porcelain."⁶⁸

Upstairs on the first floor, in the principal private quarters, Jacques described the China Room over the vestibule, writing: "The size of this room is thirty-three feet by thirteen feet; at each end are mahogany recesses well stored with a valuable collection of Dresden, Seve, and Indian porcelain, consisting of vases, bowls, jars, tea service, &c, &c."⁶⁹

And finally in another room, known as the Waiting Room, Jacques wrote: "even here we shall find something to amuse us, for we must not overlook two superb sets of Seve porcelain which adorn the buffets; presents from the French Court, to this noble Family: one service is of blue and gold, the other green and gold, both embellished with subjects from Natural History, in their truest colours."⁷⁰ This last description is an obvious reference to the Sèvres services under discussion. Alas, it has not been possible to substantiate the tradition that these services were gifts from the French crown.⁷¹

George Edwards was still alive when the third Duke of Richmond ordered his service of Sèvres porcelain, but there is no evidence that he ever saw it. Nor do we know how much personal contact he maintained with the Richmond family after his very fruitful relationship with the second Duke of Richmond. While Edwards railed against the unauthorized reproduction of his bird prints and their inaccurate interpretation by English decorative arts manufacturers, I would like to think that he would have been flattered had he known that the son of his most noble patron had acquired, either through accident or design, Sèvres porcelain (fig. 9) on which much of his life's work (fig. 10) was most exquisitely rendered.

Appendix 1:

Transcript of hand-written letter "Proposal sent to the Duke by three French workmen seeking his support for the manufacture of Porcelain. Undated."⁷²

Monseigneur

Il y a tres longtemens que nous cherchons le moien d'avoir l'honneur de vous faires nos Reverences, pour vous informer que nous sommes trois Ouvriers, qui possedons le secret de la Porcelaine plus belle qu'elle na pas encore eté faite en france, egallent de beaucoup celle de Saxe, dont, on peut faire toutte sortes de plats, assiettes, pots a oeüil sçeaux de toutte grandeurs, pots a l'eau, leurs jattes, et toutte sortes de pieces pour le service de table, et bijouteries, scavoir, figures, et girandoles, pots pouries, animeaux, oizeaux, et toutes les pieces qui y ont rapord, Il font aussy toutes les fleurs comme la nature, Ils ont toutes les couleurs, et le secret de la dorure, aussy beau qu'en Saxe, Ils sont tres experimenté dans la construction des fours et fourneaux, et generalement tout ce qui concerne l'establissement pour une Manufacture, Ils ont preuve en main, Il sadresse a vous Monseigneur pour seavoir sy votre Illustre Nation ne seroit point jalouse d'avoir une tel fabrique dans son Roiaume, nous avençons a preuve qu'il y a cent, pour cent de Benefice pour les personnes qui la soutiendront, en vendant les pieces comme elle se vende en france, Il demande quelqu'un pour leurs faire les avances pour faire leurs Etablissement

Il travailleronts pour le Comte des Entrepreneurs sil le juge apropos, ou pour le leurs propre selon les arrangements que lon voudra faire Sy la proposition plait en montrant les echantillons, nous donnerons un Memoire justificatif qui concernera la depence pour l'establissement, l'on donnera aussy, un etat tres exacte de ce que chaque pieces coutera aux interresé, en etat de vente et celui du prix quelle se vendra, par la l'on verra tres visiblement le gain qu'il y aura sur chaque piece!

Il demande par grace que l'on soit secret autrement il courerois risque sils etoient decouverts d'etre confiné aux frontiere du Roiaume. quoi qu'il nont fait aucun engagement avec personne, et qu'il sont leurs maitres C'est quil seroient charmé que cella se fit sans eclat.

Etat de la depence pour l'establissement d'une manufacture de porcelaine, en supposant les materiaux au prix de france, et un batiment commode pour y construire les fours, et des chambres pour travailler vingt cinq ouvriers.

Sçavoir, trois tourneurs, deux finisseurs, quatre moulleurs pour les services de table, et deux pour les figures, un scupteur, quatre peintres, dont trois pour les peintures en fleurs naturelle, et payisages, et un pour les peintures dans le gout du japon, un enfourneur, cinq ouvriers pour les fleurs en bosse, et trois manoeuvre.

	<u>livres</u>
Pour les fours et fourneaux	5,000
pour construire un moulin a l'eau ou a cheval	2,500
Pour les tours, raisons, planche, tant pour les tourneurs, que pour les moulleurs, et autre ustancille, comme banquette et autre	600
pour les pates, compositions du biscuit, de la couverte, et pour les terres a faire les materiaux	3,000
Total de la premiere depence.	11,100

Depence pour chaque mois	
Pour trois tourneurs	240
deux ouvriers pour finir leurs pieces	120
quatre moulleurs	240
un modelleur, et quatre pour finir	400
quatre peintres.	320
sept ouvriers pour faire les fleurs de bosse	280
quatre manoeuvres, un enfourneur, la chandelle, la terre, et le sable.	170
pour le bois	250
pour le moulin, sil est a cheval, et le moulinier	120
pour les pates, couvertes, et couleurs	1,500
Total de la depence par mois	3,640

Piece en etal d'etre peinte

Un goblet, ou tasse, avec sa soucoupe coutera aux entrepreneurs de la manufacture une livre huit sols.

La boitte a sucre, une livre huit.

La theyere, deux livre quatorze.

Le pot au lait, et sa jatte, six livre huit.

	<u>livres</u>	<u>sols</u>
No. 1. Le cabaret composé de seize pieces sçavoir six tasses, six soucoupes, la boitte a sucre, la theyere, le pot au lait, et sa jatte a la somme de	18.	18.
No. 2. Pour le peindre comme lancien Japon le meme cabaret tout fini en etat de vente	28.	18.
No. 3. Pour le peindre en fleur naturelle avec le prix du blanc cy dessus, tout fini	40.	18.
No. 4. Pour le peindre avec un cartel en payisage, comme en Saxe, et le prix du blanc, tout fini	78.	18.
No. 5. Pour les peindre en payisages tout autour de la piece, avec le prix du blanc, tout fini	98.	18.

Le cabaret No. 2. si lon y mets deux fillets d'or a
chaque piece cella augmentera sur le cabaret la
somme de. 16.
avec le prix cy dessus reviendra tout finy a 44. 18.
Le cabaret No. 3. en y ajoutant une vignette en or
comme l'un des model pour ce. 88.

Etant tout finy et en etat de vente a la somme de106. 18.

Le cabaret No. 4. avec une vignette comme l'article
cy dessus pour l'or, et façon88.
Tout finy en etat de vente somme de166. 18.

Le cabaret No. 5. si lon le vent tout doublé d'or, etant
tout finy en etat de vente a la somme de200. 18.

Un pot a l'eau et sa jatte tout finy en blanc pret a
peindre a la somme de.7. 16.
peint en Japon, tout finy en etat de vente somme de10. 16.
Les deux même pieces peintes en fleurs naturelle et
le prix du blanc couterant les deux pieces15. 16.
Les mêmes pieces en paysages tout finy27. 10.

Un grand sceau a bouteille pret a peindre10.
peint en fleurs naturelle en etat de vente16.
Les autres sçaux, comme a demy bouteille, a liqueurs et
a verre, reviendront en deductions des grands.

Une assiette en blanc pret a peindre3. 16.
toutte finie peinte en Japon5.
peinte en fleurs naturelle toutte finie en etat de
vente6. 16

Un petit enfant comme le model coutera tout finy7.

Pour le general de la peinture les pieces augmente ou diminue proportionnellement a la qualité
ou quantité de l'ouvrage.

Nous assurons suivant notre supputation, quil y a du moins cent pour cent de benefice pour
les entrepreneurs Le plus grand gain consiste dans la bijouterie, et surtout sur les fleurs
dont il y a un desir considerable

Et pour donner une preuve de ce que nous avancons le petit enfant qui sert de model revient
a sept livres, l'on les vent a la manufacture de Vincennes dix huit.

Le cabaret No. 3. qui revient suivant notre Memoire a la somme de quarante livres dix huit
sols, est vendu cent quatorze livres.

Le cabaret No. 5. qui est mis cy dessous a la somme de quatre vingt dix huit livres dix huit
sols, est vendu cent quatre vingt dix huit livres.

Et le reste a proportion.

Mon adresse est chez Monsieur Henne a l'ancienne academie de Vaudeüil Rue de vaugirard
pres le Luxembourg a paris

Le Sieur Henne est celuy qui a eu l'honneur de faire les affaires de Son Excellence Milord
Walgrave dans le tems de son ambassade a paris

West Sussex Record Office Goodwood Ms. 106, ff. 456-459.

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acknowledgments to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist.

Appendix 2:

I have not attempted to list every piece of Sèvres ordered by the third Duke of Richmond in 1765. Rather, what follows is a list of those pieces painted with birds and the correspondence, where possible, with images by George Edwards. Each Edwards source is identified by the plate number and English name. The name is followed by (r) if the painted bird appears as the reverse of Edwards' plate. The term (variation) follows if the porcelain painter has significantly altered the figure of the bird while remaining true to its species. The name of the bird is given in French to indicate a correspondence with one of the reversed images found in the first and second volumes of the *Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux*, published in 1745 and 1748 respectively, which are today found at Goodwood.

I. Dark Blue Ground Dessert Service

A) Twenty-four plates (*assiettes*), each with a dark blue border and three kidney-shaped reserves painted with birds. Painted in the center with a bouquet of flowers. Diameter: 9.6 in. (24.5 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	scrolling N (François-Joseph Aloncle)	j	pl. 303: Cross-Bill Hen not in Edwards not in Edwards
2. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; CT	pl. 306: Jaccarini (r) pl. 308: Grey-footed Tringa pl. 306: Malacca Gros-beak (r)
3. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; j	pl. 235: Least Green and Blue Parrakeet pl. 326: Blue Jay from the East-Indies (r) pl. 323: Yellow-headed Starling
4. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; F	pl. 272: Green-gold finch (r) not in Edwards not in Edwards
5. N	scrolling N	j	pl. 270: Long-tailed Sparrow (r) pl. 271: Black and Yellow Frizled sparrow (variation) not in Edwards
6. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; j	pl. 336: Crested King-fisher pl. 334: Jacamaciri of Margrave pl. 333: Yellow Wood-pecker with Black Spots
7. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; CT	pl. 265: Purple Indian Creeper not in Edwards pl. 265: Purple Indian Creeper (r)
8. N	scrolling N	j	pl. 349: Tit-mouse of Paradise pl. 348: All-green Creeper pl. 350: Black and Blue Tit-mouse (r)
9. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; j	pl. 261: Red and Black Manakin pl. 261: Blue-backed Manakin pl. 262: Grey and Yellow Fly-Catcher

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
10. N	scrolling N	CT	pl. 271: Black and Yellow Frizled sparrow pl. 271: Brazilian Sparrow (variation) pl. 272: Green gold-finch
11. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; j	pl. 321: Green Pye (r) pl. 319: Black and Yellow Daw pl. 320: Blue and Green Daw (r)
12. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; F	not in Edwards pl. 262: Spotted Green Tit-mouse not in Edwards
13. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; j	pl. 344: White-faced Manakin (r) pl. 343: Scarlet Sparrow pl. 341: Pompadour (r)
14. N	scrolling N	scrolling L; j	pl. 306: Malacca Gros-beak pl. 305: Worm-eater pl. 306: Jaccarini (variation)
15. N	c p (Antoine-Joseph Chappuis)	scrolling L; j	pl. 236: Little Red-Winged Parakeet pl. 255: Yellow-Rumped Fly-Catcher pl. 257: Spotted Yellow Fly-Catcher
16. N	c p	scrolling L; j	pl. 241: Purple-Breasted Blue Manakin pl. 247: Chinese Quail pl. 231: Green and Red Parrot From China
17. N	c p	F	pl. 235: Least Green and Blue Parrakeet pl. 252: Blue Fly-Catcher pl. 245: Little Green and Orange- Coloured King-Fisher (r)
18. N	c p	scrolling L; j	pl. 233: Rose-Headed Ring Parrakeet pl. 234: Yellow-Faced Parrakeet pl. 237: Little Red-Headed Parrakeet
19. N	c p	scrolling L; CT	pl. 245: Little Green and Orange- Coloured King-Fisher pl. 259: Grey Water-Wagtail pl. 258: Yellow Water-Wagtail (variation)
20. N	c p	scrolling L; CT	pl. 232: Red-Breasted Parrakeet pl. 238: Red-Beaked Toucan pl. 255: Yellow-Rumped Fly-Catcher (variation)
21. N	c p	F	pl. 239: Blue Jay pl. 237: Little Red-Headed Parrakeet pl. 237: Maryland Yellow-Throat
22. N	approx: X (Jacques-François Micaud père or Philippe Xhrowet, père)	scrolling L; j	pl. 298: Golden-crowned Fly-catcher Hen pl. 296: Little Thrush (r) pl. 299: Golden-winged Fly-Catcher (variation)
23. N	approx: X	scrolling L; CT	pl. 304: White-throated Sparrow pl. 304: White-throated Sparrow (variation) not in Edwards
24. N	no painters mark	scrolling L; j	pl. 293: Sapphire-crowned Parrakeet (r) pl. 280: Long-tailed Duck from Newfoundland pl. 274: American Gold-finch Cock (variation)

I. Dark Blue Ground Dessert Service

B) Four sugar bowls fixed on stands with lids (*sucrier de table monsieur le premier*) with dark blue ground, each with two reserves on lid, two on tureen, two on stand, each painted with a bird. Length: 9.4 in. (24 cm.) Height: 4.7 in. (12 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	scrolling N (François-Joseph Aloncle)	scrolling gp	lid: pl. 334: Jacamaciri (r) pl. 362: Olive-coloured Linnet bowl: pl. 237: Little Red-Headed Parrakeet pl. 237: Maryland Yellow-Throat stand: pl. 257: Spotted Yellow Fly-Catcher not in Edwards
2. N	c p (Antoine-Joseph Chappuis)	j; scrolling f	lid: pl. 249: Little Pin-Tailed Grouse (r) pl. 250: Indian Bustard bowl: pl. 347: Red-breasted Green Creeper pl. 351: Guira Guacuberaba stand: pl. 324: Short-tailed Pye pl. 349: Tit-mouse of Paradise
3. N	c p	j; scrolling f	lid: not in Edwards not in Edwards bowl: pl. 348: All-green Creeper pl. 355: Amadavad stand: pl. 329: Yellow-breasted Toucan pl. 344: White-faced Manakin
4. no	illegible	fi; j; scrolling f; scrolling L	lid: pl. 335: Spotted King's-fisher pl. 341: Pompadour bowl: pl. 239: Summer Red-Bird pl. 255: Yellow-Rumped Fly-Catcher (r) stand: pl. 258: Yellow Water-Wagtail (r) pl. 257: Yellow-Tailed Fly-Catcher (variation)

I. Dark Blue Ground Dessert Service

C) Twenty ice-cream cups (*tasses à glace*) with dark blue ground, each with a reserve painted with birds. Height: 2.6 in. (6.8 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. n	scrolling N (François-Joseph Aloncle)	CL	pl. 243: Lesser Bonana Bird (variation)
2. n	scrolling N	none	pl. 241: Purple-Breasted Blue Manakin
3. n	scrolling N	I	pl. 252: Golden-Crowned Thrush (variation)
4. n	scrolling N	CL; I	pl. 247: Chinese Quail (r)
5. N	c p (Antoine-Joseph Chappuis)	AR	pl. 233: Rose-Headed Ring Parrakeet
6. N	c p	AR	pl. 227: Great Horned Owl from Athens
7. no	c p	CL	pl. 325: Crested Long-tailed Pye
8. N	c p	AR	pl. 336: Crested King's-fisher (variation)
9. N	c p	AR	pl. 314: Blue-headed Parrot
10. N	c p	AR	pl. 328: Brazilian Saw-billed Roller (variation)
11. N	c p	AR	pl. 237: Little Red-Headed Parrakeet
12. N	c p	I	pl. 335: Spotted King's-fisher
13. N	c p	AR	pl. 333: Yellow Wood-pecker with Black Spots
14. N	c p	scrolling W	not in Edwards
15. N	c p	none	pl. 324: Short-tailed Pye
16. N	c p	AR	pl. 234: Yellow-Faced Parrakeet
17. N	c p	AR	pl. 230: Blue-Faced Green Parrot
18. N	c p	AR	pl. 349: Tit-mouse of Paradise
19. N	c p	CL	pl. 329: Yellow-breasted Toucan
20. no	none	AR	pl. 330: Green Toucan



Figure 1
Bottle cooler (*seau à bouteille*), 1766
Sèvres Manufactory
Soft-paste porcelain
H: 6.7 in. (17 cm.)
Goodwood House Collection



Figure 2
pl. 7: *Le Touraco* (The Touraco)
from George Edwards,
Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux,
vol. I, 1745
etching and watercolor
Goodwood House Collection



Figure 5
pl. 17: *Le Mino ou Minor* (The Mino or Minor)
from George Edwards,
Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux,
vol. I, 1745
etching and watercolor
Goodwood House Collection



Figure 3
Study for pl. 2: The King of the Vultures
George Edwards
watercolor
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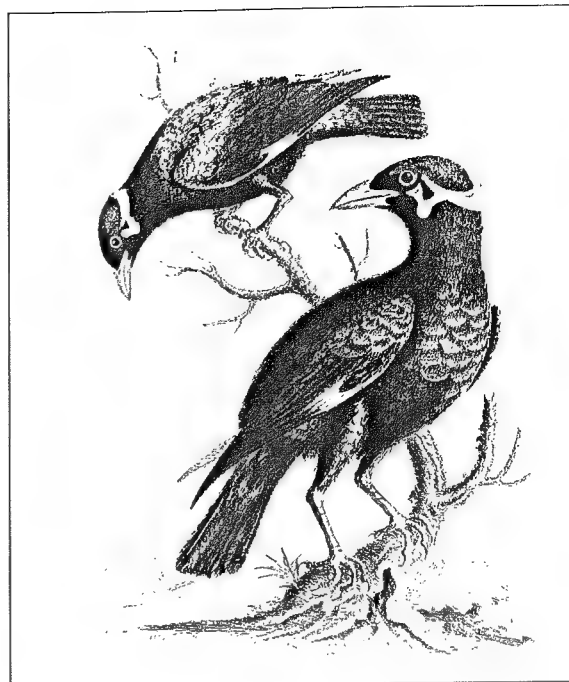


Figure 4
pl. 17: The Mino or Minor
from George Edwards,
A Natural History of Birds,
vol. I, 1743
etching and watercolor
Goodwood House Collection



Figure 6
Bottle cooler (*seau à bouteille*), 1766
Sèvres Manufactory
Soft-paste porcelain
H: 6.7 in. (17 cm.)
Goodwood House Collection

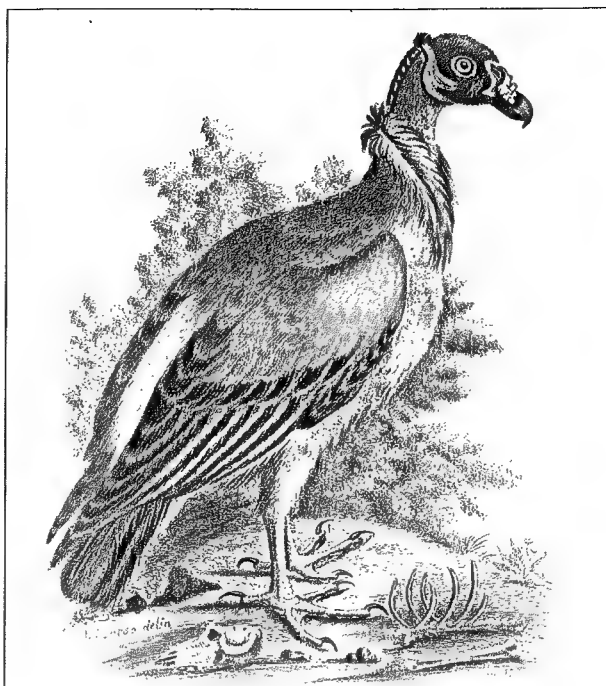


Figure 7
 pl. 2: *Le Roi des Vautours* (The King of the Vultures)
 from George Edwards,
Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux,
 vol. I, 1745
 etching and watercolor
 Goodwood House Collection

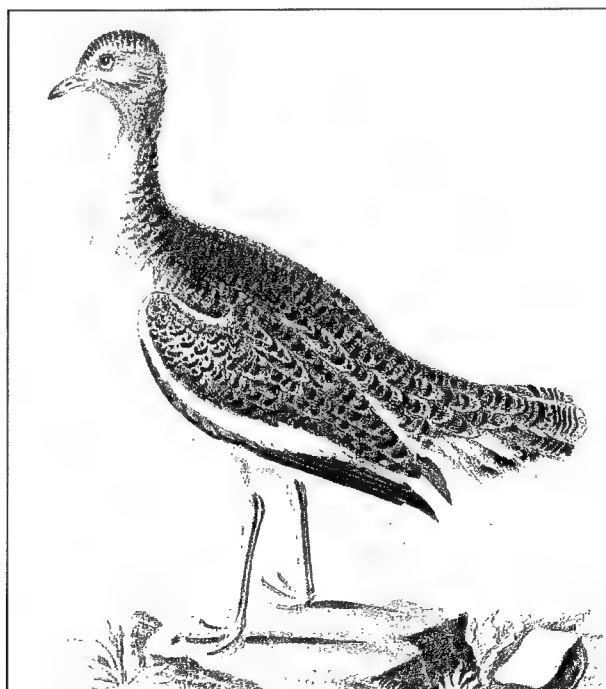


Figure 8
 pl. 74: *L'Outarde Femelle* (The Hen Bustard)
 from George Edwards,
Histoire Naturelle de Divers Oiseaux,
 vol. II, 1748
 etching and watercolor
 Goodwood House Collection

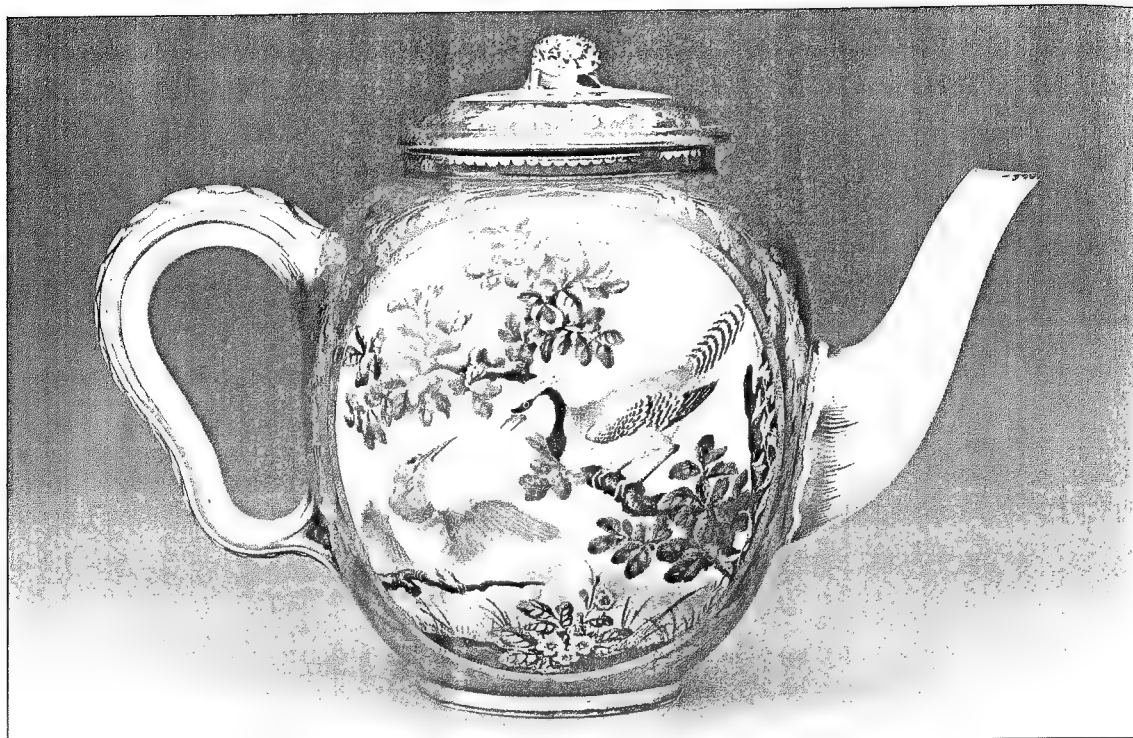


Figure 9
Teapot (*théière 'Calabre'*), 1766
Sèvres Manufactory
Soft-paste porcelain
H: 6.5 in. (16.5 cm.)
Goodwood House Collection

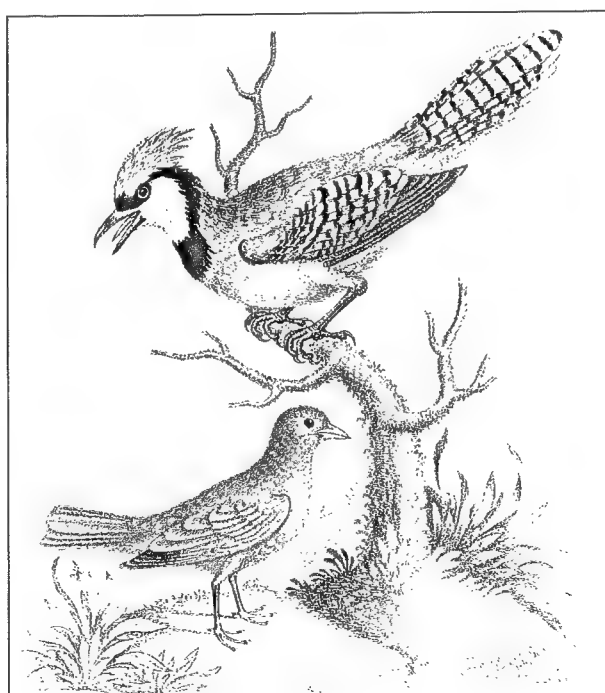


Figure 10
pl. 239: *The Blue Jay and the Summer Red bird from Carolina*
from George Edwards,
Gleanings of Natural History,
vol. I, 1758
etching and watercolor
Goodwood House Collection

II. Green Ground Dessert Service

A) Twenty-two plates (*assiettes*) with green ground borders framing three kidney-shaped reserves, each painted with birds in shallow landscapes. Painted in the center with a bouquet of flowers. Diameter: 9.6 in. (24.5 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	scrolling N (François-Joseph Aloncle)	scrolling L; j	pl. 330: Green Toucan pl. 355: The Amadabad pl. 355: White-breasted Indian Sparrow
2. N	c p (Antoine-Joseph Chappuis)	scrolling L; CT	pl. 239: Summer Red-Bird pl. 242: Chatterer of Carolina pl. 243: Lesser Bonana Bird
3. N	c p	scrolling L	pl. 102: <i>La Cercelle de la Chine</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.) pl. 263: Golden Tit-mouse pl. 258: Yellow Water-Wagtail (variation)
4. N	c p	CT	pl. 266: Red-breasted Humming Bird pl. 280: Long-tailed Duck from Newfoundland (variation) pl. 273: Painted Finch Cock
5. N	c p	scrolling L; j	pl. 256: White-Tailed Humming-Bird pl. 254: Golden-Crowned Wren pl. 260: Black-Capped Manakin
6. N	c p	CT; scrolling f	pl. 336: Crested King's-Fisher pl. 318: Grey Pye of Brasil pl. 351: Guira Guacuberaba
7. illeg	c p	A	pl. 333: Yellow Wood-pecker with Black Spots not in Edwards not in Edwards
8. N	c p	OO; A	pl. 243: Lesser Bonana Bird pl. 252: Blue Fly-Catcher pl. 242: Chatterer of Carolina
9. N	c p	scrolling L; CT	pl. 256: White-Tailed Humming-Bird pl. 226: Black and White Butcher-Bird (variation) pl. 252: Blue Fly-Catcher
10. N	c p	CT	pl. 239: Summer Red-Bird (r) pl. 234: Yellow-Faced Parrakeet (r) pl. 238: Red-Beaked Toucan (r)
11. N	c p	AR; j	pl. 248: Ruffed Heath-cock pl. 229: Brazilian Green Macaw pl. 241: Purple-Breasted Blue Manakin (variation)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
12. N	mark for Guillaume Noël	CT; scrolling f	pl. 271: Black and Yellow Frizled Sparrow not in Edwards not in Edwards
13. N	mark for Guillaume Noël	CT; scrolling L	pl. 301: Red-throated Fly-Catcher Cock pl. 300: Black-throated Green Fly-catcher not in Edwards
14. N	mark for Guillaume Noël	scrolling ff; 4	pl. 58: <i>La Coucou noir des Indes</i> not in Edwards pl. 274: American Gold-Finch Cock
15. N	mark for Guillaume Noël	CT; 4	pl. 77: <i>Le Lorient à tête noir</i> pl. 55: <i>La Petit Pie-Grièche</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.) pl. 91: <i>Le Petit Plongeon</i>
16. N	scrolling p (unattributed)	j	pl. 227: Great Horned Owl from Athens (r) pl. 230: Blue-Faced Green Parrot pl. 225: Blue Hawk
17. n	scrolling p	scrolling L; CT	pl. 243: Lesser Bonana Bird (variation) not in Edwards not in Edwards
18. N	scrolling p	j	pl. 260: White-Capped Manakin pl. 258: Yellow Water-Wagtail (variation) not in Edwards
19. n	scrolling p	scrolling L; CT	pl. 246: Francolin pl. 251: Little Bustard pl. 255: Yellow-Rumped fly-Catcher (r)
20. N	approx: X (Jacques-François Micaud, <i>père</i> or Philippe Xhrowet, <i>père</i>)	none	pl. 342: The Shirley (r) not in Edwards not in Edwards
21. N	approx: X	scrolling f	pl. 268: Calandra (r) pl. 273: Painted Finch Cock (variation) not in Edwards
22. N	approx: X	CT	pl. 301: Red-throated Fly-catcher Hen not in Edwards pl. 261: Blue-backed Manakin (variation)

II. Green Ground Dessert Service

B) Four bottle coolers (*seaux à bouteille*) with green ground, each with two circular reserves painted with birds in elaborate landscapes. Elaborate, interlaced Ls appear on the underside of each of the coolers, the mark, perhaps, of an as yet unnamed painter. Height: 6.7 in. (17 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	LF; I	side a: pl. 7: <i>Le Touraco</i> pl. 17: <i>Le Mino, ou Minor</i> side b: pl. 101: <i>Le Canard d'Été de Catesby</i> (variation-plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.) pl. 102: <i>La Cercelle de la Chine</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.)
2. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	c b	side a: pl. 88: <i>L'Albatross</i> pl. 99: <i>Le Canard brun tacheté</i> side b: pl. 10: <i>Le Martin-Pêcheur à</i> <i>queue d'hirondelle</i> pl. 6: <i>Perroquet Indien rouge et verd</i>
3. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	I	side a: pl. 38: <i>Le Colibri rouge gorge</i> pl. 39: <i>L'Oiseau rouge</i> side b: pl. 15: <i>Le Pigeon à longue queue</i> pl. 20: <i>Le Merle Rosette</i>
4. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	I	side a: pl. 74: detail of Stonehenge from <i>L'Outarde Femelle</i> pl. 13: <i>Le Quan ou Guan</i> (variation) pl. 2: <i>Le Roi des Vautours</i> side b: pl. 95: <i>Le Plongeon à la poitrine rouge</i> pl. 87: <i>La Poule Sultane</i> (variation)

III. Green Ground Tea Service

A) Eighteen cups and saucers (*gobelets 'Hebert' et soucoupes*). Each cup having an inverted pear-shape, decorated with green ground reserving a kidney-shaped cartouche painted with a bird in a shallow landscape. Each five-lobed saucer with green ground framing a circular reserve in the center, painted with a bird in a shallow landscape.

i) Cups. Height: 2.3 in. (5.8 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	c p (Antoine-Joseph Chappuis)	3 reversed (or a scrolling E)	pl. 295: Curasso Bird (variation)
2. N	c p	same	pl. 300: Black and White Creeper
3. illeg	c p	same	pl. 349: Tit-mouse of Paradise
4. N	c p	same	pl. 329: Yellow-breasted Toucan
5. N	c p	same	pl. 274: American Gold-finch Cock
6. N	c p	same	pl. 274: American Gold-finch Cock (variation)
7. illeg	c p	same	pl. 351: Sayuca
8. N	c p	same	pl. 323: Yellow-headed Starling
9. M	c p	same	pl. 278: Yellow Wren
10. N	c p	same	pl. 297: Lark from Pensilvania
11. N	c p	same	pl. 265: Purple Indian Creeper
12. N	c p	same	pl. 293: Sapphire-Crowned Parrakeet
13. N	c p	same	pl. 295: Cushe-w-Bird
14. N	c p	same	not in Edwards
15. no	angled f (Étienne Evans)	same	pl. 263: Blue Manakin
16. no	none	same	pl. 280: Spur-Winged Plover
17. no	none	same	pl. 264: Black and Blue Creeper
18. no	none	3 reversed (or scrolling E); ae	not in Edwards

ii) Saucers. Diameter: 5 in. (12.5 cm.)

Note: No interlaced Ls, date letters or painter's marks visible on saucers as green ground color is applied to underside of each within footring.

	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1.	scrolling gp	pl. 299: Golden-winged Fly-Catcher
2.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 261: Blue-backed Manakin
3.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 292: Ring Parrakeet
4.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 266: Red-breasted Humming Bird
5.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 263: Golden Tit-mouse
6.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 280: Long-tailed Duck from Newfoundland
7.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 325: Crested Long-tailed Pye
8.	S reversed (or scrolling 2)	pl. 267: Red-breasted Black-Bird
9.	no	pl. 351: Guira Guacuberaba of Marcgrave
10.	no	pl. 298: Golden-crowned Fly-catcher Cock
11.	no	pl. 263: Golden Tit-mouse
12.	no	pl. 275: Little Brown Bittern
13.	no	pl. 316: Great Black Cockatoo
14.	no	pl. 261: Blue-backed Manakin
15.	no	pl. 270: Long-tailed Sparrow
16.	no	pl. 333: Yellow Wood-pecker with Black Spots
17.	no	pl. 300: Black-throated Green Fly-catcher
18.	no	not in Edwards

III. Green Ground Tea Service

B) Eighteen cups and saucers (*gobelets à la reine et soucoupes litron*). Straight-sided, flared cups with green ground framing oval reserves painted with single birds in landscapes. The saucers with deep sloping sides and central reserve showing single birds in shallow landscapes.

i) Cups. Height: 2.75 in. (7 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	scrolling N (François-Joseph Aloncle)	OO	pl. 102: <i>La Cercelle de la Chine</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.)
2. N	scrolling N	OO	pl. 90: <i>Le Pierrot tacheté</i>
3. N	scrolling N	OO	pl. 85: The Schomburger
4. N	scrolling N	OO	not in Edwards
5. N	scrolling N	OO	pl. 87: <i>La Poule Sultane</i>
6. N	scrolling N	OO	pl. 100: <i>Le Canard d'Été de Catesby</i>
7. N	angled f (Étienne Evans)	OO	pl. 303: Cross-Bill Hen
8. N	none	OO	pl. 79: Green Indian Fly-Catcher
9. n	none	OO	pl. 69: <i>Le Femelle du Paon-Phaisan</i>
10. n	none	OO	pl. 81: Little Black, White and Red Indian Creeper
11. n	none	OO	pl. 68: <i>Le Phaisan belles-couleurs</i>
12. n	none	OO	pl. 67: <i>Le Paon-Phaisan de la Chine</i>
13. n	none	none	pl. 69: <i>La Femelle du Paon-Phaisan</i>
14. n	none	OO	pl. 66: <i>La Femelle du Phaisan de la Chine</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.)
15. n	none	OO	pl. 75: <i>Le Pigeon aux taches triangulaires</i>
16. n	none	OO	pl. 71: <i>Le Francolini brun-tacheté</i>
17. n	none	OO	pl. 70: Red-Legged Partridge
18. n	none	OO	pl. 78: <i>Le Petit Mocqueur</i>

ii) Saucers. Diameter: 4.8 in. (12.2 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	scrolling N (François-Joseph Aloncle)	scrolling L	pl. 60: <i>Le Duc</i>
2. N	scrolling N	6	pl. 56: Fork-Tail'd Indian Butcher-Bird
3. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 57: <i>Le Grand Coucou tacheté</i> (variation)
4. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 95: Red-Breasted Gossander
5. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 66: <i>Le Phaisan de la Chine noir et blanc</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.)
6. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 77: <i>Le Lorient à tête noir</i>
7. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 88: The Albatross
8. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 74: <i>L'Outarde Femelle</i>
9. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 73: <i>L'Outarde Male</i>
10. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 76: Brown Indian Dove
11. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 82: Greater Bull Finch (variation)
12. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 84: Indian Green Finch
13. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 30: Hen Cold Finch (variation)
14. N	scrolling N	6	pl. 97: <i>Le Plongeon rouge-gorge</i>
15. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 58: Black Indian Cuckow
16. N	scrolling N	scrolling L	pl. 65: Grey-Headed Green Woodpecker
17. N	scrolling N	6	pl. 55: <i>La Petit Pie-Grièche</i> (plate cut from Goodwood's French vol.)
18. N	angled f (Étienne Evans)	scrolling L; 6	pl. 300: Black-throated Green Fly-Catcher

III. Green Ground Tea Service

C) One teapot (*théière 'Calabre'*) with oval body and ear-shaped handle, shallow, domed cover with flower finial. Decorated with green ground and two oval reserves each painted with birds in detailed landscapes. Elaborate interlaced Ls appear on underside of teapot, of the same style as those on the four bottle coolers. May indicate the same painter. Height: 6.5 in. (16.5 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	none	side a: pl. 227: Great Horned Owl from Athens pl. 233: Rose-Headed Ring Parrakeet (variation) side b: pl. 239: Blue Jay pl. 245: Little Green and Orange- Coloured King-Fisher (variation)

D) Two sugar bowls and covers (*pots à sucre*), each with a green ground and two kidney-shaped reserves painted with birds in landscapes. Height: 4.8 in. (12.2 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. n	interlaced Ls with heavy, scrolling top loops and scrolls which do not meet at bottom	o	side a: pl. 245: Little Green and Orange- Coloured King-Fisher side b: not in Edwards
2. illeg	elaborate, inter-laced Ls, partially drawn	none	side a: pl. 259: Grey Water-Wagtail side b: pl. 24: <i>Le Rouge gorge bleu</i> not in Edwards

E) Two ewers (*pots à l'eau*) of pear shape with scroll handles, decorated with green ground reserving a pear-shaped cartouche. Each reserve painted with two birds within landscapes. Height: 6 in. (15.4 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	none	pl. 237: Little Red-Headed Parrakeet, or Guinea-Sparrow pl. 260: White-Capped Manakin
2. N	elaborate, interlaced Ls	none	pl. 236: Little Red-Winged Parakeet pl. 242: Chatterer of Carolina

F) One bowl (*jatte 'Hébert'*) with slight pear-shaped profile. Green ground reserving two elongated, kidney-shaped cartouches each painted with two birds in shallow landscapes. Height: 2.8 in. (7.1 cm.) Diameter: 6.3 in. (16 cm.)

date letter	painter's mark	incised marks	Edwards illustration
1. n	elaborate, interlaced Ls	o	side a: pl. 238: Red-Beaked Toucan not in Edwards side b: pl. 28: <i>Le Rossignol de mur</i> pl. 29: <i>Le Rouge-queue gris</i>

Footnotes

- 1 Mireille Jottrand, "De Vincennes à Tournai et de Tournai à Sèvres ou la "Porcelaine de France" vue dans un miroir," *The French Porcelain Society*, V (1989).
- 2 David Peters, "Identification of plates and services in the Sèvres sales registers," *The French Porcelain Society*, I (1985).
- 3 Antoine d'Albis and Tamara Préaud, "Eléments de datation des porcelaines de Vincennes avant 1753," *The French Porcelain Society* II (1986).
- 4 Edwards' birds continued to be used on Sèvres dating to 1770. One of the largest groups of Sèvres outside of Goodwood painted with birds after George Edwards can be found at Waddesdon Manor. See Svend Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sèvres Porcelain* (Fribourg, 1968), pp. 206-25. Eriksen discusses a turquoise blue dessert service of 103 pieces of which four are painted with the date-letter N and eighty-four with the date-letter O. He traces the service in the Sèvres records as a purchase by one of two brothers Razoumovski on December 31 1767 through the banking firm of Bouffet and Dangirard. Each piece is inscribed with the French name of the bird which appears on it, here identified as corresponding to the work of George Edwards.
- 5 See Jottrand (note 1), p. 15 for an excerpt from Edwards' dedication to the second Duke of Richmond.
- 6 M. M. Reese, *Goodwood's Oak* (London, 1987), p. 251.
- 7 Timothy J. McCann, ed., *The Correspondence of the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle 1724-1750* (Lewes, 1984), pp. xxvi-xxvii.
- 8 Ibid., p. xxxv.
- 9 The Earl of Ilchester, *Lord Hervey and His Friends 1726-38* (London, n.d.), p. 228: letter from Hervey to Stephen Fox, September 11 1735.
- 10 Xavier de Chavagnac and Gaston de Grollier, *Histoire des Manufactures françaises de porcelaine* (Paris, 1906), pp. 59-60, as cited in John Ayers, Oliver Impey, and J. V. G. Mallet, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe 1650-1750* (London, 1990), p. 50.
- 11 West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood Ms. 99, f. 12. By courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgments to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist.
- 12 These coolers measure 6 1/2 in. (16.5 cm.) in height and 7 3/4 in. (19.7 cm.) in diameter. There is no way at present to determine how and when they came to Goodwood. See no. 315 in Ayers et al (note 10), for a similar cooler.
- 13 John Heath, *A Catalogue of Part of the Collection of Antique Bronzes, Bustoes, Statues, Pictures, A magnificent Sideboard of about 18000 Ounces of curious wrought Plate, Fine old China, Japan, and Dresden Porcelaine, Several capital Pieces of the rare old Japan in Cabinets, Chests, &c. with some Household-Furniture, Belonging to his Grace the late Duke of Richmond* (London, 1751).
- 14 Ibid., p. 32, lot 167.
- 15 Letter from Richmond to Newcastle, 11th Decr 1748, cited in McCann (note 7), p. 279.
- 16 Letter from Richmond to Newcastle, 18 Decr 1748, cited in McCann (note 7), pp. 280-81.
- 17 Albemarle served in France from 1749-1754.
- 18 Letter from Richmond to Newcastle, 26 Febry. 1748/9, cited in McCann (note 7), p. 282.
- 19 The scientist Abraham Trembley visited the Duke in Paris in October 1749 and returned with him to London, as discussed in John R. Baker, *Abraham Trembley of Geneva: Scientist and Philosopher 1710-1784* (London, 1952), p 136.
- 20 W.S.R.O., Goodwood Ms. 106, ff 456-59. By courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgments to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist. For a typescript of the full letter see Appendix 1. This undated and unsigned

letter was first cited in Francis W. Steer and J. E. Amanda Venables eds., *The Goodwood Estate Archives: A Catalogue* (Chichester, 1972), vol. II, p. 12. Reginald Haggard, with the assistance of Sheila Morgan and Elizabeth Adams, published an English translation and analysis of the letter as "Three Frenchmen in search of a patron," *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* X, 4-5, (1980), pp. 248-59. Haggard proposed the letter was written to the second Duke of Richmond, possibly by Caillat. My interpretation owes much to Haggard's analysis.

- 21 See Haggard (note 20), p. 252.
- 22 Chavagnac and Grollier (note 10), pp. 133, 143.
- 23 John Kent, *Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond* (London, 1896), p. 13.
- 24 W.S.R.O., Goodwood Ms. 134. By courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgments to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist, cited in McCann (note 7), p. xxix.
- 25 Letter from Richmond to Newcastle, Novr 24 1734, cited in McCann (note 7), p. 14.
- 26 By permission of the British Library Ms. Sl. 4078, f. 66.
- 27 Letter from Foster to Richmond, 8 April 1730. W.S.R.O., Goodwood Ms. 108, f. 815. By courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collections and with acknowledgments to the West Sussex Record Office and the County Archivist, cited in McCann (note 7), p. xxix.
- 28 George Edwards, *Gleanings of Natural History* (London, 1758), vol. I, p. ii.
- 29 George Edwards, *A Natural History of Birds* (London, 1747) vol. II, p. 121.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 George Edwards, *A Natural History of Birds* (London, 1743), vol. I, title page.
- 32 Edwards (note 28), p. xxx.
- 33 H. Bellamy Gardner, "The Chelsea Birds," *English Ceramic Circle Transactions* No. III (1931), pp. 55-64.
- 34 Edwards' critique of textile printers was also justified. One impression in the "Bromley Hall" pattern book, a volume of copper-plate designs for printing on textiles, shows a pheasant based on plate 67: Peacock Pheasant from China from *A Natural History of Birds*, vol. I. My thanks to the staff of the Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum for making the "Bromley Hall" pattern book available for my study.
- 35 "His Grace the Duke of Richmond, & c." is found in a four page "Names of the Generous Encouragers of this Work" bound with the first volume of *Gleanings of Natural History* in the library of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.
- 36 Edwards (note 29) p. 119.
- 37 Reese (note 6), p. 58.
- 38 Letter from Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 17 March 1757 in W. S. Lewis ed., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven, 1960), vol. 21, p. 67.
- 39 Reese (note 6), p. 216.
- 40 Steer and Venables eds. (note 20), p. xiv.
- 41 F. J. B. Watson has discussed some of the close connections between Walpole, Richmond and Cole while they were in Paris in the autumn and winter of 1765 in "Walpole and the taste for French porcelain in eighteenth-century England," *Horace Walpole, writer, politician, and connoisseur*, Warren Hunting Smith ed., (New Haven, 1976), pp. 186-89.
- 42 Walpole paid a visit to Chantilly on September 13, 1765 as noted in the entry for that date in Walpole's *Paris Journals*, Lewis (note 38), vol. 7, 1939.
- 43 The Reverend William Cole, *A Journal of My Journey to Paris in the Year 1765* (London, 1931), p. 167.

- 44 According to Walpole's *Paris Journals*, they saw each other almost daily between November 6 and November 23, and again between December 16 and their last meeting in Paris on February 14, 1766.
- 45 Watson (note 41), pp. 188-89.
- 46 Lewis (note 38), vol. 7, 1939, p. 270.
- 47 Ibid, p. 271.
- 48 Cole (note 43), p. 234.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Letter dated October 19, 1763 in Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, Frank Felsenstein ed. (Oxford, 1979), p. 63.
- 51 The date of departure is given as February 17, 1766 in D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789* (London, 1932), p. 22.
- 52 The third Duke, having no legitimate heirs, was succeeded by the eldest son of his brother, Lord George.
- 53 Lord George had his audience of leave on October 4, 1766, but seems to have remained intermittently in Paris until November 4, 1768.
- 54 Lewis (note 38), vol. 7, 1939, p. 309.
- 55 Peters (note 2), pp. 8-10. Bachelier's mother was also involved in the sale of porcelain, having a shop in the Palais Royal, as cited in Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* (London, 1988), vol. III, p. 962.
- 56 Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale eds., *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox 1745-1826* (London, 1901), p. 202.
- 57 Alph. Maze-Sencier, *Le Livre des Collectionneurs* (Paris, 1885), p. 178, kindly brought to my attention by Rosalind Savill.
- 58 Svend Eriksen and Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain: Vincennes and Sèvres 1740-1800* (London, 1987), p. 175-77.
- 59 Y. 8 register consulted at the Metropolitan Museum of Art Library. I would like to thank Pat Coman for making it available to me.
- 60 Sotheby's, *Early English and Continental Ceramics and Glass* (London, Feb. 23 1988), lot no. 301.
- 61 See Savill (note 55), vol. III, pp. 995-96 for a profile of Aloncle.
- 62 Ibid., pp. 1018-20 for a profile of Chappuis.
- 63 See Eriksen (note 4), p. 208.
- 64 John A. Pope and Marcelle Brunet, *The Frick Collection: Porcelains* (New York, 1974), p. 270.
- 65 Savill (note 55), vol. I, p. 28.
- 66 D. Jacques, *A Visit to Goodwood* (London, 1822).
- 67 Ibid., p. 21: "On right of the vestibule near the entrance, is the New Drawing Room fifty-five feet by twenty-four feet, exclusive of the niche at the end; beyond, is the intended Picture Gallery, eighty-six feet two inches long by twenty-four feet two inches wide, and on the right between the two, the round Sitting Room of the north tower, the whole of these rooms are at present in an unfurnished state." They were most likely left this way from the time of the third Duke's death.
- 68 Ibid., p. 27.
- 69 Ibid., pp. 35-36.
- 70 Ibid., p. 60.
- 71 A review of the documents of the *Presentes du Roi* in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs failed to reveal a gift of Sèvres to the third Duke of Richmond. I am indebted to the staff of the Archives for graciously allowing me to review much of this material.
- 72 I wish to thank Richard Roome and John Whitehead for their assistance in transcribing this letter.